583 /87 cont./ community head), and in part to kin relationship (kinsmen of the adat community head). By juggling these unequal amounts, it is possible to obtain a higher sunrang according to one rule than one is entitled to according to another.

554 The amount of the sunrang is in principle linked to the level of the woman's group of relatives. Her standing and that 583 of her group is made known by the sunrang paid at her wedding. It is therefore important for her kinsmen that she command as high a sunrang as possible. On the other hand, for the man's kinsmen it is just as important to pay a high sunrang on the basis of the principle that in effect man and wife are equal in standing. It is therefore comprehensible that the sunrang has a tendency to rise.

554 In his kingdom, the prince is the highest. He, and with him his kinsmen of the same blood, should therefore have the 565 highest sunrang within that kingdom. As a result he is concerned 583 that the sunrang in his region be clearly established according to [643] rank and status, and known to everyone, so that his subjects will not pay or receive a higher sunrang /88/ than he himself. Hence, one repeatedly encounters prescriptions concerning the amount of the sunrang in lontar. Nature, however, seems to be stronger than rules. There always arises, some time after the amount has been officially established, the tendency to surpass the prescribed limits. Rules are only too gladly forgotten. As time goes on, more and more people seem to have paid and received a sunrang that was higher than they were permitted. Consequently, a new sunrang edict must be issued periodically. The last such regulation in the kingdom of Goa dates back to 1940. This sets the sunrang for

kinsmen of the Prince	at 28 reals
for the adat community head	at 26 reals
for the latter's kinsmen	at 24 reals
for ordinary people	at 20 reals
for slaves belonging to the Prince	at 12 reals.

565 643 /98 cont./ Several characteristics are linked to the Prince's group of relatives, and as such becomes status characteristics.

/99/ The Prince speaks of his slaves (ata), but if the adat community head were to speak of his slaves in the company of a man of nobility, it would make him ridiculous. The Prince regards the use of a certain kind of spear (lallung) at the ornament ritual as prohibited to anyone except his own kin group. Difficulties have never arisen about this, for it appeared that this type of spear is frequently unknown among members of the lower groups of relatives. But difficulties did arise concerning the use of the festive drum (ganrang) which is likewise exclusively reserved for kinsmen of the Prince. It turned out that the ganrang was regularly played in secret by others, too. In many cases the Prince winked at this practice, but when, in 1941, he heard that in a certain kampong the drum had been played where, in his [534] opinion, this should not have happened, he sent out the kapala concerned to investigate. No punishment followed the misdemeanor, and no prohibition for the future. The fact that the guest who had brought the drum with him came from outside Goa was accepted as an excuse, but only in order to prevent the further difficulties that would have resulted from an actual prohibition. Playing the ganrang is a privilege of the Prince of Goa; everyone, even the stranger, must comply with that. This fact corresponds to what was reported above about the amount of the sunrang for Buginese who in their own land have a much higher bride price (sompa) than the Prince of Goa, but who place themselves under his sunrang, at least formally, while they reside inside his kingdom.

565 634 643 At his inauguration the prince of Goa stands upon the Goan investiture rock where the prescribed ritual is performed on him. There he accepts the vows of faithfulness from the great of the realm and adat community heads. The last two adat community heads of Borongloë stood on the "Flat Rock"

565 /99 cont./ of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that
565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaëng
626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
634 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent
[177] figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of the karaëng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is regarded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaëng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaëng related group, but who gives evidence of possessing these qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaëng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaëng group is possible in that case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J. Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion, the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
[648] figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number of personal qualities which the governmental authorities between 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to maintain himself in his function.

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

567
571
196

Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant," "subject." This translation is still correct, even today. When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

[554
643]

It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

567
[644]

Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friederic reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

1. H. J. Friederic, Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

537 643 /118 cont./ This boastful tone also comes to the fore in the loyalty oath (aru) made to the prince by lower chieftains or prominent followers at the inauguration of a new prince or at other very important happenings such as war. It is a combination of expressions of the greatest self-glorification and words expressing the most abject subjection to the superior. It is the same kind of self-abasement which in the end is nothing but a self-elevation, as has already been noted in cases where men of standing call themselves the slaves of the prince.

This oath is uttered with a drawn kris and amidst signs of the strongest emotion. Sentence after sentence is shouted rather than spoken. The oath following here belongs to the former adat community head of Borongloë. Among other occasions, he uttered it at the inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1937. The recording of the text took place in 1948 (1).

[114]

1. This translation has already appeared in the monthly magazine Oriëntatie for February, 1949. A number of improvements were made in it. The original text became mutilated and could therefore not be reprinted here.

537 539 643 Listen to me,
the most miserable servant of God,
the least among the warriors of the Prophet.
Where there is nobody, there am I
and where there is somebody, there am I
as his twin brother.
I am the man of the women,
the lover of the girls,
the man who is unshakably faithful to the adat,
who holds fast to the adat,

537 /118 cont./
539 who stands firmly for the truth.
643 I am always at work,
like a pack saddle that is never taken off,
like a saddle strap that is never loosened.
I am strong as a crupper which never tears, /119/
as a needle which never breaks,
as a hide that never yells when it is beaten.
Whether it is heavy or light,
I carry all.
If I am sent far away,
then nobody needs to help me at my task;
then one only needs to listen
to the report that I bring back.
For I am as a dove that does not
have to be lured but that comes by itself.
If I get work to perform close by,
then I need no help with it;
then one only needs to look on at my work.
For I am as a cock that does not need to be called,
but that comes of its own accord.
Even if there is but one single piece of rattan from a rattan mat,
even if there is but one single string of lontar,
if the Royal Council should sit on it, I will sit on it.
Even if rain and wind beat against me,
even if the whirlwind turns me around,
I am not afraid,
so long as I find protection with the Royal Council.
I am a descendant of people who persevere;
I am a descendant of people who do not fear death;
I am the most reliable of all confidants;
I am the best of all followers;
I am the most valiant man of Goa,
the hero of Borongloe.
Listen to the Berang River,
the never-breaking anchor cord of Goa.

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraëng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

[342
645]

1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

571 /120 cont./ Opposition is inherent in the relations of men among each other. In the family the relation between father [593] and son -- and to a lesser extent that between brothers -- is strongly formalized. As a result, opposition within the family is greatly reduced in force.

Opposition is observable between relatives and especially between the prominent members of one group of relatives.

554 The relation between a high and a low and, likewise, 561 between an old and a young man, is also formalized. To con- 571 tradict a higher or an older man is prohibited. To speak in his presence soon becomes a sign of discourtesy. The manner in which these social relations are conducted makes a stiff impression.

571 Opposition is further observable between groups of relatives. Where there is an ornament, the worship communities are in opposition to each other. There is opposition between kampongs, between adat communities, and among the wealthy.

Within all these groupings, there are always latent oppositions present. They are merely not always noticeable.

571 Worship communities consequently do not always conduct ●643 themselves as a unit (3). The opposition can frequently be [794]

> 3. A realm, that is to say, a local administrative and political unit, and the worship community around the ornament belonging to the prince of that realm, coincide to a great extent.

traced back to the family of the prince, for instance, if the individual who has been appointed prince on the basis of his descent, does not, at the same time, possess the personal /121/ qualities necessary for the effective exercise of his office.

643 669 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

114 643 648 669 175

1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

[114]
643
648
669
175

/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

175 "From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele,
643 who accordingly was presented to the administration at
669 Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree. Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

602 /128 cont./ kinsman or a trusted follower named as kampong
634 head. Thus, at an election for a kapala, the brother of the
662 adat community head was set up as a candidate against a member of the leading group of relatives residing there. This
[666] brother obtained a number of votes from members of the Rest group living there, but nevertheless lost the election. Only after the first ballot had been declared a test ballot, and the second produced the same result, did the adat community head give in.

634 The adat community head counteracts the formation of
661 power centers in his region. He looks with disfavor upon marriage connections between the closest kinsmen /127/ of his various Kapala, unless it is he himself who brings about such a marriage. Furthermore, he knows that an ornament which is in the hands of one of the Kapala groups always signifies a potential threat to him.

634 Insofar as he is concerned with affairs outside the adat
661 community, the adat community head generally endeavors
643 to establish ties either with his fellow adat community heads or with his prince and his kinsmen. The prince looks with disfavor upon the former practice for it threatens to create a direct power center within his realm. He would be even more averse to a tie between one of his adat community heads and a neighboring prince. Although this need not be expected from the heads of the adat communities lying close around the center of Goa, in the marginal, mountainous regions
634 the situation is different. There it has happened that a local
643 head defected from his prince in order to follow another (1).
662

1. "Although the mountain Makassarese continued for a long time to resist a union with the maritime Makassarese, and in 1817 under Aroe Mampoe submitted to the new Prince of Goa,

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had neverthe-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
643 characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
648 time had been regarded as very important for him by the Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one
643 of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
669 number of followers, built up power within the realm without the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight. Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too much against him.

/131 cont./ circumstances the appearance of daëng Mangemba became temporarily possible in 1927. For this, see Z(entgraaff), Celebesproblemen, pp. 5 ff.

177 643 602 662 With the disappearance of these figures, however, the opposition within the circle of the prince and his closest relatives did not disappear. After all, this opposition has its basis within the family in the relationship between the brothers. What disappeared was merely the form of opposition described by Kooreman in 1883, a power within the realm under the leadership of a man of high nobility, based upon force directed against the prince.

The opposition itself remained dormant. In the years preceding the outbreak of the Second World War, it emerged principally in a number of questions concerning hereditary succession.

In 1949 it again became apparent, this time in parliamentary form. It appeared that relatives of the various princes and Self-government members had seats in the representative councils which at that time were set up both for the daërah (the South Celebes Council), as well as for a number of kingdoms (among others the Bone Council). Compared to their ruling kinsmen, these men of the nobility are progressive individuals, but in a number of cases their endeavors merely seem aimed at eliminating the ruling prince and at one of them becoming the prince himself. They conduct the traditional South Celebes policy merely under new names and in new forms.

177 648 In November, 1948, the High Hadat (Hadat Tinggi) for the entire region of the daërah of South Celebes was set up. It was intended as an administrative body in which the various princes should have a seat. Unity was thereby created which

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friederici leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

668 /137 cont./ Turkish Government would shortly come to replace Dutch rule, and the 'Companiya' had to be driven out of the land." Eerdmans, p. 1087.

The person who predicts the coming of salvation is the leader of the group, but he frequently lacks the noble blood and just as frequently the personal qualities which the Makassarese otherwise expect in a leader. His followers are those who purchase the djimat and who learn the prescribed ritual. They do not have the feelings of loyalty toward him either which are otherwise customary in a relationship of followers. It therefore seems better not to speak of a followers' relationship in this connection. The only tie which exists is based upon the belief in his prophecies. To proceed against such a group with armed force always brings rapid success. They practically never offer resistance. Actual overthrow of the existing government is not the prime target at which these people aim. If the forecasts are not realized soon, they wait. But once the leader has been imprisoned, the group collapses and the movement fails. Such a movement was not only aimed against the government, but also against their own princes, when the Netherlands East Indies Company still occupied a completely unimportant position in Makassarese life. The princes at that time took just as effective countermeasures whenever such a movement was in the offing.

[648 643]

/138/ The expectation of salvation in South Celebes centers on the arrival of one of those strong personalities who in the history of the country played an important role by fighting successfully against the prince ruling at that time or else against Dutch rule. It is hoped that he will now succeed in his former striving, and that he will be able to drive out

643
648
291
293

Inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1947. During the procession.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

After the inauguration, many try to obtain a bit of the earth next to the investiture stone. Compare page 66.
(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 7]

[94 cont.]

631 of these territorial institutions is quite different from that of those found in other parts of the archipelago. From olden times on southern Celebes there has been [95] a kind of 643 feudal nobility, the Karaëng among the Makassarese and the Aroeng of the Buginese, with the members of their families, the Anakaraëng (Makassarese) and the Anakaroeng (Buginese). The criterion by which a Karaëng or an Aroeng is recognized as chief or ruler by the population is the possession of the so-called [293 778] "regalia," which in southern Celebes are called ornaments (in Buginese, aradjang; in Makassarese, kalompowang). [Illustration appears here.] Among these objects there are a few of value, but also a number that are quite worthless, little bones, little pieces of wood, small stones, etc. and an article that is considered the most important, the gaoekang. It is a stone or a little stick that was found by the original owner, long, long ago in a particular [142 291]

Buginese from Southern Celebes
Photo. Kol. Instituut Amsterdam, Coll. Veen.

[293 778] concealed place, or which he received under mysterious conditions. The worship of these regalia has something of the nature 793 of fetishism; among the prominent Karaëng there are even

I
MI [359 cont.]
175 Company. An expedition was equipped to punish the sultan.
64 After a fierce battle in 1784 Riouw was conquered and the sultan
721 was forced to recognize the Netherlands administration as his
MI overlord, from whom he had his state in fee. The sultan's seat
[636] was transferred to Lingga, where it is today. In the beginning
the sultan retained his authority over Johore and Pahang. With
the Treaty of London of 1824, however, this was changed because
the Netherlands ceded all its territory on Malacca to England in
return for what England still held on Sumatra, namely, Benkulen.

I
MI In 1830 a new treaty was concluded with the sultan of
648 Lingga, whereby monetary compensation for the loss of the two
636 territories (Johore and Pahang) was promised him.

The sovereign of Lingga bears the title of Jang dipertuwan besar or sultan of Lingga. He has his state in fee from the Government, which is authorized to depose him and to name his successor, who, however, must always belong to the ruling dynasty
MI and insofar as possible be chosen by succession.

MI The sultan is assisted by a state administrator with the
MK
643 title Jang dipertuwan muda Riouw or Radja muda Riouw from the
645 dynasty of the Buginese princes. On these islands there are many
563 Buginese, whose settlement there [360] dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they supported the Sultan of Lingga in a war with Siak. In 1720 one of the Buginese commanders was appointed viceroy of the state by the sultan, and since that time this office has always been held by a Buginese. The viceroy is recommended by the sultan and appointed by the Government. He has his seat on the island of Penjingat or Maro near Riouw.

MI The viceroy is not only the general state-administrator,
643 but he also has supreme control of the islands between the coast
645 of Sumatra and Singapore Strait and Dempo Strait in the China Sea, that is, the Riouw group (Bintan, Batam, Bulan, Gampang, Galang or Galah, Chombal, Sugi) and the Karimun Islands (Great and Small Karimun). The viceroy seems to have had proprietory
MI rights over these islands. The sultan more directly governs the
636 Lingga group (Lingga, Singkep, Sebangka, Sadjuwa, and Temiang).
643
651 The sultan receives 35,000 guilders from the Government
563 in compensation for leases ceded to the country. Otherwise his

[375 cont.]

642 like. The way the liege lord summons his feudal tenants for a
423 festivity or war is peculiar. The invitation or summons is made
211 by means of bila-bila. Such a bila-bila is a strip of lontar leaf, in which a certain number of flat knots are tied. There are as many knots as there are days before the war starts or the festivity is to begin. There is a great difference in the way the feudal
576 tenant must take the bila-bila from the hand of the messenger or envoy of the liege lord, depending on whether it is a summons to war or an invitation to a festivity. The bila-bila for a festivity is taken by the royal feudal tenant with his right hand, while with the left hand he makes the motion used in dancing. The bila-bila for a war is accepted with the left hand, while he touches the kris with the right hand, the object being to demonstrate his devotion to the liege lord by dancing or swinging the kris. According to Dr. Matthes, bila-bila is a corruption of bilang-bilang, from bilang = to count, since the number of knots in the lontar leaf serve for calculating the number of days before the festivities or war will begin.

643 Otherwise, the government is organized the same as in
645 the Malay states. At the head stands a sovereign who is assisted by a state administrator and a state council. The general name in Makassarese for sovereign is karaëng, and in Buginese arung or patta (1). This is also the title, however, for a nongoverning

1. Since the type for the Buginese sound ᵉa is not in stock, the Buginese words that have this sound are spelled as above.

[376] prince. A ruling prince is karaëng mágaú (from gaú = deed, affair, and ágaú = to be active, to manage, and in Buginese, aru or patta mangkaú (the same radical gaú = deed, affair, and mágaú = to be active, to manage). The name of the state administrator is different in the various states and so is the composition of the state council. We shall now discuss the

[376 cont.]

643 government of some of the principal states, first Gowa, a remnant
645 of the ancient and, before Speelman, powerful state of the Makassarese. The sovereign here is the Karaëng mágaú. The state administrator here is called Tumá-bitjara-butta. The state council is called bate salapang, from bate = insignia, anything that serves as insignia, banner, and salapang = nine. The meaning is thus "nine banners," because each of the nine princes who make up the council carries a special banner.

Boni is a Buginese state. The sovereign is assisted by a state administrator, To-márilalang, from to = tau = man, márilalang = to be inside, from rilalang = within. To-márilalang = the person who is inside the inner rooms, that is, who stands in the most intimate, in the closest relationship, namely, with the sovereign. Furthermore, there is the state council, Aru pitu, literally, seven princes, because the council consists of seven princes. This council has great authority and deals with all governmental matters of any importance. The princes, members of the state council, are also the electors who choose a new sovereign. The Government then confirms their choice. This council can also recommend to the Government that a sovereign be removed. The state administrator, too, is appointed and dismissed in the same manner. Membership on the council is hereditary, in the female as well as in the male line.

Finally, we wish to discuss Soppeng. The sovereign here bears the title of polipuwe = the bottom (pong) of the trunk on which the land, lipu, rests, as though it were the rest of the tree (the whole is pong-lipu-we, we = e and serves as the definite article). The state administrator is called watalli-puwe, literally, that part of the trunk which is next to the pong and bears the name watang as though serving with the pong to support the whole tree, which [377] refers to land and people. The state council here consists of four electors and three high officials. The four electors are called pangebá, from the radical ebá = to carry on the arm, referring to a child. The name thus indicates that they look after the sovereign with as much care as a mother gives her

MK [377 cont.]
643 children. The other three are called pabitjara or council mem-
645 bers.

The government in the other states is the same with more or less deviation. Besides the sovereign, there is a state administrator as well as a state council which decides all important matters. No governmental act can be performed without its authorization. The members of the state council are also electors, and since they do not have to be concerned at all about the right of the first-born, the power of the sovereign is further reduced. As well as
MK by the state council, the power of the sovereign is further
642 weakened by the many feudal tenants. The form of government
643 is monarchal only in name, but is indeed entirely aristocratic.
645 There is one state where this is even completely the case, namely, Wadjo. Wadjo is wholly an aristocratic republic, governed by 40 princes (patta). The executive power, however, is vested in the six most important ones, the so-called patta-annange, at the head of which stands a president, aru mátowa or patta-mátowa. The other 33 are only summoned for deliberations about peace or war or other important events. A new patta is always chosen from among the nearest blood-relatives of his predecessor. The feudal system also prevails in Wadjo.

G
101
642
643
645 On northern Celebes there are first the Gorontalese states, Gorontalo, Limboto, Bone, Attinggolo, and Boalemo; furthermore the small states along the north coast, Bolaang Mongondou, Bolaang Oeki, Bintaoena, Bolaang Itam, Kaidipan, and Boewoel. The government of all these states is fairly uniform. The sovereign bears the title of radja. Next to him is the state administrator, generally called djugugu. There are some other dignitaries, of whom the kapitan or commander of the fleet, who at the same time is commander of the troops on land, is the most important. In most of the states these high officials form a state council,
G
I
[636] which [378] deals with the most important matters. These states, including the Gorontalese, are all bound to the Government by contract.

Atjehnese 084
Makassar 066
Borneo 0C1

I 643 [387 cont.]
of women. Nevertheless, female rule is not rare in the archipelago. The most remarkable example of it is furnished by the A 643 562 779 state of Atjeh. In the seventeenth century, for a period of 58 years, Atjeh was ruled by four consecutive sultanas. There were then two parties in Atjeh, an Arabian party, or rather a princes' party, and a national party, which was represented primarily by the orangkaja, members of the state council. It was primarily these orangkaja, who, opposing the efforts of the priests in the Arabian party, were able to perpetuate female rule during all that time, which gave them the opportunity to exercise more unlimited authority and personal influence. After the death of the next to last of these four sultanas, Inâjat Schabi, in 1688, a war broke out between the champions of the national and of the Arabian party. The former wanted to place a princess, Kamalat Schah, on the throne, whereas the latter demanded a sovereign of male sex. The national party, the orangkaja, were victorious, and Princess Kamalat Schah was placed on the throne [388] and upheld. The party of the priests, however, did not remain quiet and 11 years later, in 1699, came forth with a letter from a cadi of Mecca, informing the people of Atjeh that the exercise of legal authority by a woman was in conflict with the laws of Islam. The orangkaja no longer dared to resist. Kamalat Schah was removed and the government was handed over to a prince; since that time no woman has headed the government of Atjeh.

MK 643 562 South Celebes is another country where female rule frequently occurs, indeed is practically the rule. This has always been the case here; Crawfurd even mentioned it as a peculiarity. According to the Government Yearbook, Bone and Tanette are still ruled by female sovereigns, as is Barroe and four of the six states of Adja Tapparang.

BR I 643 171 562 Women at the head of the government seems to be purely Polynesian. We also find it among the pagan peoples. It has been reported that some Dajak [Dyak] tribes are ruled by women.

B [416 cont.]
565 Among the Batak, too—as a reminder, they are divided
554 into two standings, the namora-mora and the halak na djadji—
551 the custom of assuming a galar exists. They have probably adopted it from the Malays, although in a different form. The differentiation into galar pusaka and galar muda does not exist here, and there is only one kind, which is like the galar muda and is used with the nama kètè. It also consists of two parts, the title and the description. The usual title is dja, an abbreviation of radja, for example, Dja porkis, Dja langit, etc. The galar here, however, is not limited to the nobility, but is borne by many of the common people, especially by the well-to-do. [417] The namora-mora, and particularly those who are closely related to the sovereign, change the galar in later life, when assuming office, when marrying, etc., for another whose title is baginda, sutan, mangaradja, pertuwan, etc., as follows: Pertuwan sangkupan, Sutan ganga alam, etc. Often two titles are combined, such as Sutan mangaradja, Djona alam, etc. The title of the galar usually stays in the family [geslacht] in the sense that it passes from father to grandson. If the father has the title pertuwan, then his son is not pertuwan, but sutan, the grandson pertuwan, the great-grandson sutan, etc. Persons without a title have si in front of their name.

e. Celebes

HK
565
643 Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the nobility
[562] is quite sharply distinguished from the common class. Members of the royal family have the title karaëng among the Makassarese, and arung or patta or opis among the Buginese. Both titles are borne by men and women. The ruling sovereigns, male and female, have such titles, but with the addition of mágaú Bug. and mangkaú Mak., thus, karaëng mágaú and arung mangkaú. Princes
MK and princesses of high birth who may be considered for the succes-
[554] sion are called patola instead of karaëng or arung. There is a

[417 cont.]

565 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we
643 shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble
554 person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran
293 sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden
793 image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out
778 paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular, are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

643 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments.
778 For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an at-
669 tempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

T
622
631
648
173
T
[551]

/119 cont./

to this, then the Karadja had a sword and a spear brought to Wotoe, and then the Datoe of Loewoe' stepped in (this is not likely).

The Karadjas whom Ta Mantaha knew were: Ta Raeli, Raeli, Ta Lanto, Ta Landano, Ta ngKalendjae, Ta mBojagi, Ta ngKolabada, Ta nTelingka and Ta Modapi (two brothers who were Karadja together), Ta ngKonte'e, Ta Balié, Ta nTigi (Kontjo). When Ta ngKaledjae died and left no son, his daughter Ranta-loda (Indo i Dai) became Karadja. Matoa-bawa-lipoe left her in office, but installed Tambojagi, a brother-in-law of Ta ngKalendjae, as Karadja beside her.

T
M
648
M
643
T
[643]

9. The rulers of the country. The Datoe of Loewoe'.

Now we come to the dominion of the rulers of Loewoe' (Palopo) over the Toradja. That is, the East Toradja recognized a few rulers as lords of the land. Most tribes named as such the ruler (datoe) of Loewoe'. The tribes in the northeast of the country had their own master in the ruler (djena) of Todjo; and the tribes in the east, in the plain of the Laa River, paid tribute to the ruler (datoe ri tana) of Mori. The first named, the Datoe of Loewoe', undoubtedly had the oldest rights, a supremacy which certainly dates from times immemorial.

T
M
173
648

According to existing traditions this situation came about in the following way. In olden days the inhabitants of Wotoe on the north shore of the Gulf of Bone lived at the mouth of the Tjerekang; some give Malio as the name of their settlement. From here the people moved to Lampenai, a hill located between the Kalaena and present-day Wotoe. A little river, the Laaosa (called Laakarai by the people of Angkona), which in turn empties into the Pewoeso'i, /120/ "washing place," flows along there.

/121 cont./

173 These foreigners became related by marriage to the people of
[622] Wotoe, and they called into being the rulers of the miniature
states which made up the realm of Loewoe', the most important
[166] of whom are the Chiefs of Wotoe and Waiboenta. From
Lampenai the people moved to Bibilassa, not far from the
present-day Wotoe, to which they finally went because the
water at Bibilassa was brackish.

173 One group of the immigrants, which had dominance over
• 643 the others, kept going west until they settled at Malangke. The
[167] chiefs of this group are reported to be descended directly from
Sawerigading. They became Datoe of Loewoe'. The first Datoe
is said to have been Sawerigading; after him his son La Galigo,
and after him his son La Mapanganro. These three Datoes are
said to have returned to the sky at the end of their lives. This
is said to have happened in the following way, according to our
above-mentioned informant: when these datoes felt that they
had reached the end of their life, their corpses were exposed
to the wind outside the ridge of their palace, and then they
disappeared. The bodies of those who were Datoe of Loewoe'
after La Mapanganro were cremated at Malangke. Ashes and
bones were buried in an earthen pot in the ground (L. van
Vuuren, "Lijkverbranding op Celebes /Cremation on Celebes/,"
[174] Not. Bat. Gen., 51, 1913). This is clear proof that these im-
[177] migrants, among whom were the Datoes, were under Hindu in-
fluence. They are still known in Loewoe' by a name which is
derived from the kind of wood upon which their bodies were
cremated. Thus people speak of Datoe maningo ri badjo, "Datoe
who sleeps on badjo wood"; Maningo ri-djampoee, "he who
sleeps on djamboe wood (Psidium guajava)," etc.

The last Datoe who lived at Malangke and who is known by
the name of Petta (poewang) Malangke, "master of Malangke,"
was married in Wotoe. He was the last Heathen among the Datoes.
According to our informant /122/ this ruler is reported to have

M /122 cont./
173 said: "I shall become Mohammedan as soon as my pigs are
• 643 gone." He (Matinroé ri Malangke) died before he achieved this
M through his livestock. A ceremonial jacket of his, of black
[292] cotton with long sleeves, is still kept by his grave at Pao, not far from Malangke. His son, Matinroé ri Goa, "he who rests in Goa," converted to Islam and moved to Palopo. This move is said to have been inspired by the wish to live under more pleasant circumstances and to be able to cultivate sawahs and to erect a masjid. Malangke, however, was also suitable ground for this. The move is probably connected with the wish to break completely with the heathenish past. Our informant named for us the following Datoes of Loewoe': After Matinroé
M [551] ri Goa, Tompotika came to power. After him: Matinroé ri langkanae (palace), Matinroé ri Kaloekoe-bodo, M. ri Sambamparoe, M. ri tangana Loewoe' (in the middle of Loewoe'), M. ri Kamomberoe, M. ri Limpo-madjang, and Datoe Kambo Daeng ri Sompa, a woman who died in her thirties.

T 173 Among the East Toradja the name Sawerigading is little
T [199] known. The memory of the contact with the Hinduized immigrants lives on in the traditions concerning Lasaeo, a mythical hero who for a short time founded a little realm at Pamona on Lake Poso, but finally went to Waiboenta in Loewoe'.

10. The rights of Wotoe over the Toradja. The tribute to Loewoe'.

T 648 643 From the above it appears that Wotoe had the oldest rights over the East Toradja, and that these rights were passed on to the Datoe. Yet the Toradja have always considered the Chief of Wotoe
T 648 631 their immediate head. Homage for the Datoe was brought to this Chief, and he took care of its delivery. Whenever the Datoe sent an envoy to the East Toradja to convey one order or another, this envoy always traveled by way of Wotoe, from where the Chief sent someone along as his deputy, because otherwise the Toradja would not recognize the envoy as such. At the end of the last

T /122 cont./
648 century the Chief of Djaladja gained great influence at the court
631 of Palopo, because he sent the Datoe large gifts in buffaloes and
M rice. Thus it happened that the Datoe instructed the Chief of
648 Djaladja (his name was Ambe Ma'a) to accompany his envoy,
643 bypassing Wotoe. This caused bad blood at Wotoe. The Toradja, however, never repudiated the Matoa (Matjoa), the Chief of Wotoe, in favor of Ambe Ma'a.

T At indefinite times, sometimes with an interval of a year,
M usually longer, a message came from Palopo or from Wotoe that
648 it was time to collect the tribute for the Datoe. This was called
T mepoee, "to recognize the lord (poee)." As far as the lowland
631 was concerned, this was carried out by the village chief of Tamoengkoe (Pebato), who for this purpose had been installed by Loewoe' as tongko. This tribute consisted of beeswax, foeja /beaten tree bark/, /123/ goat's hair to decorate lances, rice, white chickens, and palm wine. All of this was brought by Tamoengkoe to the Chief of Towale, and the latter delivered all this, augmented with the homage from his own area, to the Chief of Lamoesa. The latter was the general representative of
T the Datoe. Lamoesa lies in the plain of the Kodina, on the right
[103] bank of this river. Here, at a spot which bears the name of Landea-ndopo, "where the waves rise upon the land," the envoys from Palopo and Wotoe arrived. The Karadja of Lamoesa had to provide the lodging and maintenance for these people as long as
T they stayed at the Lake. In this he was aided by the surrounding
[671] tribes. The adat prescribed that the envoys should not go farther toward the north. When they finally left to return to their country, the Karadja sent along people who brought the tribute for
M the Datoe to Wotoe.
622 Wotoe at that time had various Chiefs. The Mandjara held
631 the highest rank. He was (and still is) installed by the Datoe,
648 but his authority limited him to the inhabitants of the little
T realm of Wotoe. As their lord in Wotoe the Toradja recognized
648 the Matoa- (Boeg. /Buginese/ Matjoa) bawa-lipoe, "he who

T
M
648
M
643

/126 cont./

13. The power and prestige of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

We have never noticed any kind of policy of the Datoe toward the East Toradja. If the subjects (palili) simply fulfilled the above-named obligations, he did not bother further with their internal affairs. He calmly let the tribes wage war with one another. If the Toradja experienced molestation on the part of Mori or Sigi, they went to the court to complain about it, but real help was never granted. For example the Datoe never made an effort to rescue the East Toradja from the molestation that was done to them by the mountain tribes of the West Toradja. The Datoe, after listening to the complaint, handed them one or another miraculous remedy, through whose magic action the enemy would be driven back.

M
[789]

The last time the Datoe helped his subjects in this way was in 1903. On the north shore of Lake Poso the Toradja had damaged and thrown into the water a memorial that had been erected there in memory of Chief Engineer R. Fennema, who had perished in the Lake in 1897. That is, the people believed that the continuous drought that scourged the country at the time was the result of the wrath of the spirits, because they (the Toradja) had admitted the Hollanders into the country. The administrative officer at Poso now asked for damages for the destruction of the memorial, but the people wanted to pay less than was asked. When the messengers of the administrative officer had returned to Poso, the Toradja thought that the soldiers would come and shoot them. They reinforced their villages and sent /127/ a few men to Loewoe' in order to inform the Datoe of the threatening danger and to ask him for help. The Datoe gave the envoys one bullet and a little bamboo container of gunpowder, enough for one shot, along with the message: "Fire this bullet with this powder at the Hollanders if they attack you, and they shall all flee from you." In the meantime, however, the request from the Government had been met, so that the bullet and powder were no longer necessary. The chief of Towale carried these objects afterwards as talisman.

T
[821]

T
M
648
789
M
643

T
M /127 cont./
648 In everyday life the Datoe of Loewoe' meant nothing to
M the Toradja. In no case was he considered. The Datoe was
• 643 brought into play only against strangers. In their contacts with
the Government, before it vigorously asserted itself, all over-
T tures were rejected with an appeal to the Datoe. Our attempts
114 to open schools among the Toradja failed in the first years, be-
648 cause the people did not want to know anything about this novelty,
871 from which they expected only disadvantages for their social
177 life. In order to cut off all discussion of this matter they hid
M behind the Datoe, who certainly would not approve if his sub-
648. jects obtained schooling while he himself did not yet have any.
643 Whenever the Toradja saw an advantage in some new thing,
they did not think of consulting the Datoe about it.

M The Datoe of Loewoe' was actually only the keeper of the
648 gaoekang (literally "things, implements, ornaments"), or
643 aradjang ("signs of greatness"), the fetishes in which the strength
[778] of the country is preserved, the regalia. As heirlooms of the
T deified ancestors they make the possessor the direct deputy of
648 these ancestors; this person thus stands on the same level as the
ancestors. Then the Toradja also said of the Datoe: "He is our
T god (lamoa)." That the Datoe left them to their lot and never
[622] concerned himself about them they found precisely "god-like"
and "ancester-like" of him because in this way he left their adat
T untouched. And this is the task of every Chief.

M The Toradjas were loyal subjects of the Datoe, precisely be-
648 cause of the superstitious respect that they had for him. The Datoe
M was said to have white blood in his veins. The mysterious power
643 that emanated from his person was considered so great that an
[826] ordinary Toradja could not look at him without getting a swollen
753 stomach and dying. The story is told of two Lage chiefs who
778 wished passionately to see the Datoe. They actually succeeded
761 in making their way to him, but the one died already on the
return journey and the other three months after he reached home.

M
778 /127 cont./
648
643
789
T
648

Because of this superstitious fear, it did not even occur to the people to oppose the wishes or the commands of the Datoe. It was told that whenever the Datoe came to punish rebellious tribes, his army was preceded by swarms of wasps which put the rebels out of action before there was an encounter. The Datoe had power over the success or failure of the harvest. Whenever people opposed him, the rice in the cooking pots would change to worms. This /128/ power over the crops that was ascribed to him was the reason that many Toradja continued to deliver their tribute to the Datoe after the Government had already prohibited this, because they thought that through their show of respect their fields would prosper. Whenever now and then there was resistance to Loewoe', this was not aimed at the Datoe, but at the Chief of one of the little realms that made up Loewoe'. There was ascribed to the Datoe another feared weapon with which he held his subjects in check. Namely, he could bring a contagious sickness over the land; he had nine of these sicknesses at his disposal. The Datoe was said to have inherited this power from one of his ancestors called La Dondorio. The tradition connected with this is too remarkable for it not to be reported.

M
[631]

M
[753]

14. The story of La Dondorio and the To Ngojoe.

M
539
778
643

La Dondorio went to seek supernatural power (mempepali asi-asi) on the other side of the ocean. At sea he met someone in a proa, who said to him: "La Dondorio, do not go to the inhabitants of yonder island; only women are there; if a man comes to them, they go at him in order to unite with him; they tear him from one another's arms so that he dies. They are the To Ngojoe, who are called this because they have the wind for a husband. When the wind sweeps over their dwelling place, they all go to sit with their faces in the direction from which the wind comes. If a man comes to them, then they cover (naowoeti) him, and the one with whom he mates becomes pregnant; but if the child is a boy, they sit upon him so that he dies. Therefore there are no men on the island."

M 778 539 643

/128 cont./

When La Dondorio had listened to this tale, he considered how he could escape the danger: If the women take me as a mate, I shall not come away alive; let me thus manage on my way to get a supply of penes. Where he got them from is not known, but he continued his journey with a supply of male genitalia in his boat. When he was approaching the coast of the island, the To Ngojoe saw that a man was coming to them. They came out of their houses and rushed to the shore and ran to meet him in the sea, for he would oblige whoever reached him first, and the others would have to fight over him.

La Dondorio saw them approaching and he said to the penes: "These are the To Ngojoe, who want to climb into our ship. When they have come close, you must fly up and every one must enter into the arse (tanta'i, but the vulva is surely meant) of each of them, so that they cannot approach me." The genitalia did this so that every one of the To Ngojoe was satisfied. With other men the women stormed their vessel so that it sank and the man drowned.

When all were satisfied, one of the women said to La Dondorio: "You, La Dondorio, are truly a clever man, for you are the only one who is leaving here alive. Therefore we wish to give you something to show our affection for you. We shall give you a protective charm such that all your descendants shall have power over the means that we give. /129/ When you make use of it, it will have effect; so also when your descendants make use of it." In this way La Dondorio received the nine sicknesses.

T 648 753 M 648 643

In former times people were very afraid of them. When a contagious sickness prevailed in Poe'oe-mboto, it was thought that it had been sent by the Datoe, and then rice and chickens were collected in order to go and pay him honor (mepoee). The people were convinced that the Datoe had released one of the nine sicknesses because he was angry at something or other. The sicknesses that La Dondorio had brought along were of all sorts: stomach-ache, headache, fever. The people then went

M
T
648 /129 cont./ The people then went
755 to ask forgiveness of the Datoe, the descendant of La Dondorio,
753 and then the Datoe gave medicine, charmed water, which was
M drunk by the sick, and then many became better. Sometimes
643 he gave a charmed piece of wood or curcuma; little pieces
of it were chewed and spit on the body of the sick person, or
it was rubbed with it. The water charmed by the Datoe was
kept in a bottle, and when a contagious sickness made its ap-
pearance, this water was mixed with a large quantity of ordinary
water, and at eventide when the chickens went to roost, all the
T people, large and small, were sprinkled with it; this was con-
[776] tinued until the sickness had gone away. In such times of sick-
ness no one should cross the road with a piece of wood or a spear
in his hand, because then many spirits roamed about, and if one
T of them was touched by the wood or the spear, he would make
753 the person sick. The physicians (sando) say that when a hornbill
776 (alo) flies across the road, one must say nothing about it, for the
825 bird is possessed by a spirit, and if one says something about the
bird, one is made sick by him (VIII, 28). Teka-teka
(Phoenicophaeus calyorinchus) and monkeys are also sometimes
possessed by spirits that bring sickness (napeontjoga).

M-L 15. The Datoe-ri-tana of Mori.

648 Some of the East Toradja brought their tribute to the Datoe-
643 ri-tana, the regional chief of Mori in the east of the country.
T This title means "ruler over the land." At the time, the last
[648] Datoe-ri-tana, Maroendoe, declared that the Datoe of Loewoe'
M had given him this title because his residence, Petasia, lay so
[648] far inland, in contrast to the Loewoe' residence Palopo, which
lay close to the sea. The Loewoe'ers, however, use this name
T as a term of derision for the Mori ruler.
M-L It was the tribes of the To Pakambia, To Pada, and To
648 Poe'oe-mbana, together with the subsidiary small tribes of the
M To Kalae, To Tananda, and To Watoe, that were subject to the
[648] Datoe at Petasia. Originally these Bare'e-speaking tribes must also

M
M-L
648

/130 cont./

16. The relationship of the Datoe-ri-tana to the Datoe of Loewoe'.

There is no longer anything known about the time when Mori was still a vassal state of Loewoe'. The fact that the Datoe-ri-tana /131/ had to deliver slaves as tribute indicates that Mori was formerly dependent on Loewoe'. All sorts of stories making the rounds in Toradja lands make it appear that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least equal in rank to the Datoe of Loewoe'. Thus the following is also told:

M
M-L
643
648
173

M-L
[135]

The Datoe of Petasia, hearing that there was a mighty ruler at Palopo, decided to put his power and glory to the test. He sent him an iron rod which was bent into a loop (in the southern part of this area much iron is found). With this gift went the task of bending the rod straight. The Datoe of Loewoe' had a slave make the rod red-hot and bend it straight. In turn the ruler of Loewoe' sent to the Datoe-ri-tana a bar of baked sago, which, when still warm, had been bent into a loop, with the task of bending the sago straight. The Datoe-ri-tana did not succeed in doing this, because when he tried to do it dry, the sago threatened to break; if he put it in water, then the sago dissolved; and if he warmed it, then it stuck together. With this the Datoe-ri-tana acknowledged himself as the inferior of the Datoe of Loewoe'.

Shortly after this event the Datoe of Loewoe' came to visit the Datoe-ri-tana. They stayed up until late in the night talking with each other by the light of a resin torch, until all the occupants of the house were asleep. When the resin torch threatened to go out, the Datoe-ri-tana took a stick to poke up the resin, a task that otherwise was done by a slave or a younger member of the company. Then the Datoe of Loewoe' said: "Because you have poked up the resin of the torch, you declare yourself the lesser of us two and you must therefore pay me tribute." The other found this just and agreed.

M
M-L
173
643
648

/131 cont./

Another story which apparently has come from the Mori side tells: In order to put the Datoe-ri-tana to the test, the ruler of Loewoe' sent him a piece of cotton with the message to take the threads out of this piece. The Datoe-ri-tana did this. In turn he sent the other a piece of beaten tree-bark with the request to take the threads out of it. Seeing that the ruler of Loewoe' was not successful in this, he had to acknowledge that the Datoe-ri-tana was at least his equal.

M
M-L
174
643
648
T
648

17. The tribute to the Datoe-ri-tana.

That the rule of the Datoe-ri-tana is of more recent date than that of the Datoe of Palopo is evident from the fact that his subjects did not entertain the same superstitious fear of him as the subjects of Loewoe' had for their lord. He always received the messengers from his subjects himself, and the tone in which the Toradja spoke of him was not as respectful as when it was a matter of the Datoe of Loewoe'. The Datoe-ri-tana, too, had his representative among the To Pakambia, who bore the title of tongko. At the time when the Government came into this region, the Chief of Bentji held this office.

T
648
[631]

T
M-L
648

The Bare'e-speaking vassal states of Mori showed their dependence on the Datoe-ri-tana by providing buffaloes whenever /132/ a member of the ruling house died or whenever their lord celebrated a great sacrificial feast. If a prince of the blood died, the To Poe'oe-mbana and the To Pakambia contributed 75 bars of wax, and the To Pada two buffaloes; if someone of lesser origin, but still related to the ruling house died, the contributions were 35 bars of wax and one buffalo, respectively. Only the To Pada are able to raise buffaloes on a large scale, because of the extensive grassy plain on which they live. Now and then the tall grass is burned off, and the young shoots then make excellent fodder for the buffaloes.

T W.T 648 175 /134 cont./

Their last expedition took place in March of 1894. One of our people was already settled in Poso at the time. On a certain day there appeared a large fleet of proas, with which the whole shore of Poso Bay was filled. Some 800 Parigiers and other people who had joined them went ashore. The reason for this demonstration was to take revenge for the slaying of a Chief of the To Onda'e who was married to a member of the Parigi ruling house. The expedition failed, because the enemy forces were driven back by the Toradja. A prolonged war between To Pebato and To Parigi was the consequence of this, but because of the great distance they did not often seek each other out, with the result that this war caused few casualties. The influence of Parigi on the East Toradja has never been of great significance.

T W.T [177]

20. The ruler (Djena) of Todjo.

T 648 [167]

In the first chapter (I, 55 and 56) we saw how the tribes of the To Tora'oe, To Baoe, To Lalaeo, To Ampana, and To Wana were formed on the eastern peninsula during the spread of the Toradja over Central Celebes. They had moved so far from Wotoe and Palopo that there could no longer be any question of paying tribute to the Datoe of Loewoe'. One result of this was that these tribes were not protected against foreign enemies, from whom they suffered a great deal. Ternatans made repeated raids along the shores of Todjo and in doing so penetrated up to the To Baoe in the interior. The Toradja felt powerless against these gangs of robbers armed with guns. They heard how strong Parigi and the little realms in the Paloe valley were under their rulers, and this led them to seek a ruler of their own who could bring unity among them and protect them against the enemy.

L [648] [167]

T 648 643

M T 173 648 643 M [175] T [622]

At that time (i.e., the second half of the eighteenth century), no ruler on Celebes was more powerful than the one of Bone, and therefore the people turned to him for support. The story tells that the Toradja tribes asked the Chief of Mowomba,

M
T
173
648
643
T
622
M
175

/135/
whose name was Ta Lamoa, to present their case to the ruler of Bone. According to radja /raja/ Lariwoe, who died in 1902, Matinroë ri Malingongëng was ruler of Bone when Ta Lamoa arrived there. This ruler held sway from 1749-1775 (J. A. Bakkers, "Het Leenvorstendom Boni /The Feudal Principality of Boni/," T. B. G., Vol. 15, p. 165).

When Ta Lamoa and his companions arrived at the court of Bone and the ruler learned that they were envoys from a land far away, he wanted to see whether he was dealing with noblemen or with slaves. He therefore had the front veranda of the house in which the Toradja were staying covered with pisang leaves, and there the guests lay down at night to rest. The ruler had a few female slaves sleep in their immediate vicinity. The Toradja were afraid to even touch them. When on the following morning the ruler had the pisang leaves inspected to see whether they were undisturbed, and this was indeed the case, he knew that the envoys from Tomini Bay had not been with the female slaves, from which he concluded that he was dealing with noblemen. He now asked them why they had come. When he heard that they had come to ask him for a radja, he immediately designated one of his nephews /Dutch neven, nephews, cousins/, who bore the name of Pile-witi, "twisted foot," because of his clubfoot.

Pile-witi, however, was not in Bone; he was staying in Parigi where he had fled because of a matter involving a woman. He lived, unknown, in a little house in Pombalowo. Ta Lamoa was given 40 Boeginese /Buginese/ noblemen and a number of slaves by the ruler of Bone in order to found a new court. With these he traveled via Gorontalo to Parigi. At a number of places where the company called, some of the Boeginese retinue remained behind; the Boeginese colonies which are found here and there in Tomini Bay are said to be descended from them.

M
[636]

T
W.T.
M
173
648
643
T
622
W.T
[175]

/135 cont./

Having arrived in Parigi, Ta Lamoa paid his respects to the ruler, Magaoe Djanggo, the same one who in the second half of the eighteenth century concluded a treaty with the East India Company, and informed him of the purpose of his trip. Magaoe Djanggo, however, had never heard of a Boeginese prince in his realm, but after a while Pile-witi was discovered. He at first denied being the one sought and refused to accept the honor offered to him. When the Boeginese who accompanied Ta Lamoa recognized him as the nephew of the ruler of Bone, he agreed to accompany Ta Lamoa. The latter asked the prince for proof of his di[illegible] origin. Pile-witi thereupon drew his sword, whereby a[illegible] was heard, as if a gun had been shot. With the sword he c[illegible]gh a roof beam of his little house, without getting up from h[illegible] When Magaoe Djanggo learned that the shabbily dressed [illegible] Boeginese prince, he offered his apologies for having let [illegible]ive in destitute conditions.

T
173
643
361
103

The company now started out in order to seek a suitable place to settle. The prince did not like the mouth of the Mapane, because mapane means "warm" (unhealthy). Poso made him think of the "stopping" of /136/ the breath (maposo inosa). In the names of the other rivers too he saw no good for the future; but when the name Todjo was mentioned to him, he decided to stay there, because he felt very fatigued (todjo) from the trip.

T
173
643
[101]
[692]

The Toradja tribes on the eastern peninsula thus formed a separate society under the Djena of Todjo. This is to be understood in the sense that the Djena secluded himself in his place of residence and did not trouble himself with the internal affairs of his subjects. Only disputes between the tribes were settled by him. Otherwise the contacts of the Djena with his subjects were to serve only for getting from the people as much as there was to get. The Djena, in imitation of the Boeginese realms, maintained a court, which, however, was only a caricature of those found in South Celebes. He had around him various dignitaries who had nothing to do and who did not know what their tasks were.

T
173
643
645